The Witch Hunt in the South, P. 2

Is Peking Planning A Far East Crisis to Force A Far East Summit? See Page 4

I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. VI, NO. 31 AUGUST 11, 1958 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

Notes on the Craggy Path to A Possible Summit

The hopeful news of the week was supplied by the U. S. Department of Agriculture. While mankind skips lightly from brink to brink, wondering how long its luck will hold out, the Department's experts have discovered a form of animal life which could survive the radioactive after-effects of World War III. This candidate most likely to succeed to the role of creation's crowning glory is a worm-like plant parasite known as the golden nematode. Tests disclosed that while 650 roentgens of radioactivity will kill a man, it takes 640,000 roentgens to kill some nematodes. Evolution, working with the golden nematode, may yet give earth its golden age if only this tough species as it climbs higher can be rendered resistant also to religion and ideology, impervious to passion about private enterprise and pure unrevisionist Marxism-Leninism, free from that lofty itch to burn, bomb and destroy the heretic, and incapable of dressing up mass butchery as a Crusade. We offer both sides a slogan they can use for their next—make the world safe for nematodes.

In Perfect Sincerity

Krushchev and Mao, after meeting in Peking, issued a joint communique which in one respect was impeccably correct. The communique said they met "in an atmosphere of perfect sincerity" and achieved "full agreement." We have been hoping for years to pick up a communique and read, "Though regarding each other as blackguards, we thought it in our mutual interest to dissemble and did succeed in negotiating some limited agreement. . . ." The communique was irreproachably conventional in another respect. It marched from the affirmation of the highest principles to a declaration unblushingly inconsistent with them. Krushchev and Mao reaffirmed "the right of every people to choose their own social and political systems," the solemn duty of "countries with different social systems" to "practice peaceful co-existence," and their determination "to wage an uncompromising struggle against revisionism" as "clearly manifested" in Yugoslavia. Communism is not the first sect more disposed to coexist with the infidel than the heretic. Krushchev and Mao see Tito as a menace to what their communique terms the "sacred unity," "the purity of Marxism-Leninism," from which no smaller Soviet State dare deviate. At the same time they affirm that "the national liberation movement is an irresistible trend" and the "age of colonialism" gone forever. These phrases may prove difficult to translate smoothly into such refractory languages as Hungarian and Polish. Indeed the writers of Budapest and Warsaw might find it easier to express themselves nowadays if they switched to Arabic.

The smaller nations of the world are fortunate to live at a time when the two great Powers are so concerned with the rights of (each other's) smaller nations as are the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. But some small nations seem to be smarter than other small nations. In the United Nations, the dispute over Iraq has often recalled the dispute over Hungary two years ago, except that the roles of Washington and Moscow have been reversed. One wonders what might have happened if the Hungarian regime under Nagy had been as smooth in handling the Russians as the Iraqi regime has been in handling the United States. Where the Hungarian regime tried to get out of the Warsaw Pact, the Iraqi acted as if they were only waiting for an invitation to stay in the Baghdad Pact. To listen to the Iraqi leaders, they have no intention of nationalizing oil, interfering with foreign business men, joining the Soviet bloc, or making anything more than friendly gestures to Nasser. Hashim Jawad, their delegate to the UN, almost made noises like a Zionist when interviewed in New York on the problem of Palestine; he's liable to turn up any day at a Hadassah meeting. If poor Nagy had been as clever, the Russians might never have marched in. It goes to show that small nations have an unalienable right to exercise sovereign independence in either zone of influence providing they're so discreet about it Big Brother can't quite figure what they're doing.

Where Both Sides Agree

The two great Powers have been making faces at each other so long that they have begun to look alike. In nothing is the resemblance so strong as their belief in the reality of "indirect aggression," the issue on which Mr. Dulles hopes to impale Krushchev at any summit meeting. The resemblance is sometimes overlooked because the two sides never talk about "indirect aggression" at the same time. It is therefore useful to recall that when the Hungarian revolt broke loose, Krushchev also blamed it principally on indirect aggression in that case by imperialist agents (notably his favorite *bete noire,* Allen Dulles, to whom he once attributed authorship of Krushchev's famous secret speech on Stalin). All through history rulers and ruling classes have tended to absolve themselves of responsibility by blaming revolutions on malign subversive forces which take the form at various times of witches, Jews, Jesuits, Freemasons, Communists, Trotzkyites and more recently "revisionists."

In this respect, as the objective observer may easily see, Dulles on the causation in Iraq is very much like Krushchev on the causation in Hungary. Nevertheless we doubt whether this affinity, if and when they meet on the summit, will be the beginning of a beautiful friendship.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

First Foray Below Mason-Dixon Only Shows How Few Communists in South

House Un-Americans Fizzle in Three Days of Hearings at Atlanta, Georgia

Chairman Walter presided at the opening of the House Committee on Un-American Activities hearings in Atlanta July 29. He was welcomed by Governor Griffin who said in a short speech, "those of us who believe in the principles of freedom support you vigorously." In other quarters, however, the Committee was greeted with reserve. The *Atlanta World,* one of the country's leading Negro papers, put on page one the manifesto against the Committee signed by 200 Negro leaders (we printed the text last week). The *Atlanta Constitution,* the day the hearings opened, welcomed the Committee but suggested (in almost the same terms used by the Negro manifesto) that it "would do well to broaden its investigations to include the Ku Klux Klan-type subversives who have been bombing private homes and Jewish and Negro places of worship."

"Virgin Territory"

The star witness at the Atlanta hearings was the ex-FBI informer Armando Penha, who testified that the Communist Party regarded the South as "virgin territory." A psychoanalyst might regard the adjective as significant; a feature of Penha's similar testimony on the Boston area was the story of how he had recruited one member for the Communists by making love to her, and of how quickly this fickle creature dropped the party when he dropped her. One witness Penha identified as a Communist at Atlanta, a young man named William Matthews, denied he was or ever had been, denied he knew Penha and even answered "No" indignantly when Richard Arens, the committee counsel, after whispered consultations with Penha, asked him, "Have you ever been a *non-member* Communist?"

Penha's testimony and Arens' interrogation were full of references to "colonizers"—apparently the Communist party, which hasn't enough members left to colonize outer Flatbush is busy "colonizing" the South, just like Captain John Smith when he met Pocohantas. One witness, Mrs. Mitchell Saba, of Roanoke, Va., who lost her job as a doctor's secretary because of the subpoena, was one of those questioned about colonizing. "Mr. Arens," she said, in an unmistakable accent, "my family is one of the oldest in Virginia. We've been colonizing the South for a long time."

On the whole the witnesses seemed to give the Committee a hard time. At one point, when Congressman Jackson said the Southern Conference Educational Fund had been "listed" as a Communist front, Carl Braden, who was in the witness chair, challenged him to prove it. Arens cut in to say that the SCEF was not so "listed" but that it was the successor to the Southern Conference on Human Welfare which Arens said *was* listed as a Communist front. "Then the record will show," Braden said, "that we are not a Communist front."

Several hundred spectators, almost all white and hostile, packed the Circuit Court chamber in the old Postoffice building for the three days of hearings, first ever held by the Committee in the South. Willis of Louisiana took over the chair after the first day when Walter left. Tuck of Virginia and Jackson of California, the one Northerner, were the others on the three man subcommittee for the hearings.

Frank Wilkinson, national director of a campaign to abolish the Un-American Activities Committee, a former public housing official in Los Angeles, refused to give the Committee anything more than his name. He was subpoenaed on arrival in Atlanta as an observer for the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. If cited for contempt, his will be a clear-cut test of the Committee. Two years ago he refused to answer questions on First Amendment grounds but was never cited.

The House Committee tried to dramatize the hearings with two surprise witnesses, a postal inspector who brought in two bags of mail he said he had intercepted addressed to people in Georgia from behind the Iron Curtain. The other was a Hungarian freedom fighter now living in Georgia who praised the State highly. He described the horrors of 10 years in Russian prisons but disappointed Congressman Jackson when the latter asked whether he thought "we should now sit down and talk with such people at a summit conference." The Hungarian said he couldn't see any harm in talking. The House hearings seemed chiefly to demonstrate how few Communists—or any other radicals—are left in the South.

Direct Challenge

"As a matter of personal conscience and responsibility, I challenge the fundamental legality of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. It is my belief that Congress had no authority to establish such a Committee nor instruct it with such a mandate. The Committee stands in direct violation of the First Amendment to the Constitution.

"The U. S. Supreme Court has reaffirmed the high principle that the broad powers which Congress must properly have to investigate cannot extend into an area in which it cannot legislate. The Un-American Activities Committee, however, attempts to investigate in precisely those areas of free speech, religion, the press and peaceful association wherein it cannot legislate.

"Therefore, I am answering no questions of this Committee."—*Frank Wilkinson, Atlanta, July 30.*

Georgia Officials Give House Committee (Slightly Surprised) Welcome

"The [House] committee [on Un-American Activities] would not divulge the names of the persons who have been subpoenaed [for the Atlanta hearings]. But a spokesman . . . said there is no question about there being Communists in Georgia."—*Atlanta Constitution, from Wash. July 11.*

"'I'm delighted they're going to hold hearings here,' said [State] Attorney General Eugene Cook. 'My department and the Georgia Bureau of Investigation will cooperate with them in every way."

"Mayor Hartsfield [of Atlanta] said, 'I'm always happy to have our Congressmen come here.' He said he didn't know anything about Communist activities here.

"'I think there's very little Communist activity in this section,' he added.

"Attorney General Cook said he believes Georgia probably has less Communists than any other State. His office has been looking into the conspiracy since the passage of the state subversive act in 1954.

"Cook said that while there probably aren't many communists in Georgia, he believes the hearing will have a beneficial effect by letting them know they are under observation."—*Same Paper, Same Day Local Story.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

20 Years Hence Will Negroes Reject the Assimilation We Now Deny Them?

The Lesson Faubus Era America May Still Learn from Algeria

To look at our South after studying the Algerian situation is to see how lucky we still are. In Algeria, the "colored man" is fighting against integration. Here he is demanding it. In Algeria, the Europeans are trying desperately to stave off minority status in an independent Arab country by offering too late an integration which would have been welcomed 20 years ago. Twenty years ago the Arabs of Algeria were prepared for assimilation into French society on the basis of ever widening equality of status. Today they no longer want to be Frenchmen. We are fortunate that our Negroes still want to be Americans like the rest of us.

They Compare Lebanon With Little Rock

The situation may be different 20 years hence. Twenty years of disappointment in the face of Southern white instransigeance and Northern white indifference can create a bitterness which might never be bridged. The Negro sees us ready to send troops halfway round the world to uphold law and order in Lebanon, but he wonders what we will do when court orders are violated as schools open next month again in Little Rock and across the Potomac in Virginia.

The overwhelming reelection of a Faubus is in Negro eyes evidence that he is really up against a race issue, that white men are overwhelmingly united in the South against his aspirations for equality and that white men in the North are basically indifferent.

In the years ahead, as Black Africa develops, there will also develop in conflict with the whites of South Africa, of our South, and of North Africa, a fierce Negro nationalism, a racism in reaction against ours, that may win our Negroes away from the ideal of assimilation.

Our Psychotic South

" 'The greatest advocate of the mixing of the races in America today is the Communist,' Judge T. Grady Head has told the Atlanta Lions Club.

"Judge Head declared that Communist philosophy in this country holds that if the races are mixed, America will be weakened and fall to Russian supremacy."

—Atlanta Journal, July 27.

There was warning foretaste of this in the Marcus Garvey Day celebration held in Harlem August 2 by a group calling itself the United African Nationalist movement, which is anti-Israel, pro-Nasser—and (most significantly of all) anti-NAACP, i. e. against those Negroes fighting for equality and assimilation as Americans. Nationalism in Harlem and the memory of Garvey (a Negro nationalist, who launched a Back-to-Africa movement) were strong enough to bring Adam Clayton Powell, Councilman Earl Brown and Manhattan Borough President Jack to the meeting as speakers in honor of Garvey.

Liberian history, and native exploitation by American Negroes, are sour recommendation for Back-to-Africa solutions. The American Negro has little real bond with the African Negro; the former is racially mixed with the whites, often more white than Negro, culturally and spiritually an American like the rest of us. But rejection on the basis of color, mistreatment at the hands of whites, have already created a sense of community between them which will grow as Africa develops and may some day have serious consequences for national unity.

Pentagon Still Fostering Delusion Sure Defense Possible by Anti-Missile

In the wake of the Johnston Island nuclear test which so alarmed Hawaii, the Pentagon is again building up the delusion that we can have "a completed system of defense against intercontinental ballistic missiles" (Associated Press from Washington, dated Aug. 3) in about three years for the expenditure of about $6,000,000,000. This seems to be part of a publicity campaign good for the missile business but not for clear thinking.

A less optimistic view may be found in the technical journals. *Electronic News* of June 9 ran a story headed "AMM [anti-missile missile] Project Held Mainly A Sedative." It quoted Dr. Walter R. Dornberger, head of Hitler's wartime missile work, now with Bell Aircraft, as telling a press conference at the First Missile Industry Conference in Washington June 8, that the U. S. anti-missile project "serves chiefly to 'calm the people down'." He estimated a kill level of only 10 percent.

A sober discussion of the possibilities may also be found in the January, 1958, issue of *Missile Design & Development,* "Anti-ICBM—Myth or Method? Formidable Technical Problems Confront Defense System." The writer said, "The picture . . . is not very encouraging." While an enemy ICBM could be detected by radars in our "Maginot Line" network across Canada, "these outposts," the article suggested, "could be destroyed by enemy Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles immediately before the launching of the ICBM's. We would then be in the position of knowing that something catastrophic is happening without being able to learn precisely what trajectories are in use until it became too late for counter-measures." The writer also indicated that one of the basic difficulties about counter-measure is that the ICBM could embody its own *anti* anti-missile devices: "The nose cone could fling off decoys to give radar echoes or heat radiation. This simple tactic would greatly increase the anti-ICBM problems."

In God (and H-Bombs) Is Their Trust

"Like Strauss, he [John McCone, new chairman of the AEC] is a religious man. In a milieu largely ruled by scientific skepticism, Strauss, a Jew, did not hide his faith in God and the moral law. Asked if he felt weak-kneed about his new job, McCone, a devout Catholic, said simply, 'When I do, I go to my knees'."

—Fortune Magazine, August, 1958.

The writer in *Missiles Design & Development* himself said at the very beginning of his survey that of the "three Ds" available for defense against the ICBM, "diplomacy, deterrents and destruction. The first is the most desirable, certain defense, provided it can lead to peaceful co-existence, with international disarmament."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

No Sign of Constructive Mid-East Policy Here Despite Hagerty-Jackson Ballyhoo

Is Peking Planning A Far East Crisis to Force A Far East Summit?

Wed. A. M.

The latest as we go to press is that Mr. Lodge at the UN Security Council meeting will press for priority at any General Assembly session for the U. S. resolution charging the United Arab Republic with "indirect aggression" in Lebanon. This seems like crawling out on a very thin limb. By now it seems to be apparent to everyone but Eisenhower and Dulles that the main cause of the trouble in Lebanon was Chamoun, and that the sooner he can be persuaded to hand over office to General Shehab the sooner peace can be restored. It is generally agreed here now that the Iraq revolt took the Kremlin and Nasser as well as our CIA by surprise, and that Jordan's king will fall as soon as British troops leave. To argue an exploded theory is not only to make ourselves ludicrous but to commit us to a dangerous course of action. That is to find some excuse to keep our troops longer in Lebanon to support Britain's in Jordan until "indirect aggression" ends.

Peking May Fear Isolation

The U. S. has given a dangerous pledge to Britain if it has as reported promised London not to withdraw our troops until Britain's can leave Jordan. This could mean a new flareup of trouble in Lebanon and a new Middle East crisis, when we suppose there will be renewed demands for a real summit talk. Not much was lost by the Russian rejection of a talk within the full Security Council bound by Council rules but the rejection by Krushchev seems to be linked with that harder line which has been making its appearance in Communist policy during the past year whenever Peking makes its influence felt. The Chinese may fear isolation. A settlement with Russia in Europe without a settlement with China in Asia would weaken Peking. How long is the Far East to be left unstable by our China policy? We did not recognize Russia from 1917 to 1933 but the China situation is different because we keep alive an alternative regime on Chinese territory in Formosa. The Chinese may feel that only by provoking a crisis in the Far East, i.e. by some such move as an attack on the Nationalist held offshore islands, can they create enough international anxiety to force the U. S. into negotiating with them. This would be *brinkmanship* on their side, too. Our unwillingness even to consider negotiation except when there is a crisis may lead Moscow and Peking to think the way to get a real summit talk is to precipitate a bigger crisis. The General Assembly promises to be nothing but a brawl.

That spate of stories in the Sunday papers of August 3, hinting mysteriously at "surprises" and constructive solutions to be unveiled by the U. S. at a summit meeting on the Mid-East stemmed chiefly from an off-the-record, not-for-attribution, backgrounder by Jim Hagerty at the White House the afternoon before plus a private audience by Dulles for James Reston of the *New York Times*. The purpose was to overcome the bad effects of the sterile positions obvious in Secretary Dulles' press conference the preceding Thursday which got a sour reception from correspondents. The Sunday stories were the kind of operation in which C. D. Jackson, back at the White House from *Time Magazine*, specializes. The stories were hot air press agentry. There is no real sign here of any surprises or constructive solutions for the Middle East. Much thinking goes on in the lower echelons of State Department but little of it gets to the top, just as CIA seems to write a lot of intelligent reports but Ike doesn't like to read. He grew up in the era when movies and dime novels ended with the triumphant arrival of the Marines. This seems to have molded his idea of what to do in a crisis.

Another Smith Act Victory

We welcome, as another firm nail in the coffin of a law contrary to American tradition, the unanimous decision by the Court of Appeals in New York reversing the convictions of the six "second echelon" Communist leaders and the 2-to-1 vote dismissing the indictments. The ruling was based, like the California case, on the absence of some proof of incitement.

Press Time Flash: Senate Foreign Relations Last Night Shelved Passport Legislation Till Next Year

I. F. Stone's Weekly, 5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W. Washington 15, D. C.

Please renew (or enter) my sub for the enclosed $5:*

Name .....

Street .....

City .....Zone.....State.....

Enter gift sub for $2 (6 mos.) or $4 (1 yr.) additional:

8/11/58

(To) Name .....

Street .....

City .....Zone.....State.....

Shall we send gift announcement? Yes ☐ No ☐

I. F. Stone's Weekly
5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W.
Washington 15, D. C.

NEWSPAPER

Entered as Second Class Mail Matter Washington, D. C. Post Office

I. F. Stone's Weekly. Entered as Second Class Matter at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Post-dated Mondays but published every Thursday except the last two Thursdays of August and December at 5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W., Washington 15, D. C. An independent weekly published and edited by I. F. Stone; Circulation Manager, Esther M. Stone. Subscription: $5 in the U. S.; $6 in Canada; $10 elsewhere. Air Mail rates: $15 to Europe; $20 to Israel, Asia and Africa.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED